294

[For information on the manufacture and decoration of gnatoo, see Category 287, pp. 275-280.]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

when respect is due to a superior. The materials are pandanus-leaves. The plaiting technique is typically Polynesian. The finest mats worn as *vala (ta'o vala fala)* are very scarce in Pangai today. They are about eight feet by six feet in size and plaited with twelve to fourteen elements to the inch. Such mats take an ordinarily industrious woman from two to three years to complete. Few Pangai women seem to have either the skill or the patience to make these mats today. They have therefore a great scarcity value. They are worn only on Sundays, special festive occasions or when meeting a superior. When not in use they are kept in safe, secret places to avoid any possibility of theft.

Many of the fine mats worn today have been inherited. Thus one woman has inherited hers from her mother's mother and expects in turn to pass it on to her own daughter. Both men and women wear these fine mats fastened with a length of braided or twisted sennit termed *ta'o vala kafa*. The sennit is worn round the waist on top of the mat. There appears to be no single and specific technique for making this sennit "belt." Each man makes his according to what skill he has at his command.

As the fine mats become rarer still in the village, it is likely that there will be developed some new material through the use of which respect may be symbolized. Possibly one of the finer and more expensive commercial cloths will be adapted to this end and will become as necessary an item of clothing as the fine mat is today.

Experts

For most of the work activities of this Tongan village no more expert knowledge is required than is possessed by the average man or woman. He or she is capable of doing the task that is required or of acting as leader of group-work. Some types of work however, require the leadership and direction of a recognized expert (generically, *tufunga*), one who has special knowledge, acquired through training, of the relatively complex techniques involved. In Pangai today there are four recognized experts in the making of European-style houses, one expert in the building of Tongan houses; one expert undertaker; four expert dug-out canoe makers; two experts in the art of making the built-up plank-canoe;

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

were throwing a stone. The end of the *fau* bark held in the hand is released and the arrow shoots off to a great distance.

A bow and arrow game, *gahau*, is played with a very slender, supple *kaho* stick. The bow is made from a stout orange stick.

For the boys' game of *maka ta*, an implement very much like the modern slingshot is used. The bark of tapa or *fau* is used for the sling and a small pebble for ammunition. The sling is swung around the head full force, and the pebble thereby released and shot out into the air.

A Tongan dance (*lakalaka*) may be performed by any number of people of both sexes. The leader (*bunake*), composes the dance, teaches it, and leads the dancers. He chooses leaders (*vahegas*) for both the men's and women's parts, who must be of chiefly rank, as no one considers the *lakalaka* worth watching unless the *vahega* belongs to the family of a chief. The words and music (*hiva usu*) for the *lakalaka* have been handed down from early times.

The *fahaiula* is a dance participated in by women only. The dancing is done to the sound of drums, with groups of girls sitting around singing and clapping hands to keep time for the dancers.

A game for small children (*aamoa*) is played by ten or more little girls and an old woman. The old woman covers herself with a piece of *gatu* or tapa cloth and tries to frighten the children, who run to escape her.

The game *fisi* is for both sexes. A rolled mat (*tapakau*) is placed on end with a stick on either side to support it; the children have small dried pieces of dried *fau* wood which they try to send over the top of the mat with one sharp clip of the finger.

CLOTHING OF WOMEN

The material used in most of the clothing worn by Tongan women in the early days was made from *feta'aki* (white tapa cloth before it had been dyed or printed). The leaves of certain trees were also used, coconut fiber serving as thread for sewing them together.

Funeral garments were made from leaves blackened by several days' exposure to the sun. These leaves were sewed together with a needle made from the small rib of the coconut leaf, the bark of the *fau* tree serving as thread.

A more modern method of dyeing the tapa cloth for funerals is as follows: The natives gather a great pile of candle nuts (*tutui*),

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

remove them from the shells and set them alight. The flesh of several coconuts is added to the fire and an empty kerosene can with the lid removed is hung over the flames. Black soot collects in the can, and is later scraped out and mixed with the scraped bark of the *koka* tree to make a jet-black dye. 287 386

The garments made for weddings were in two parts; the blouse or upper covering being of *fcta'aki*, and the loin cloth or lower robe of *gafigafi*. At both weddings and funerals a mat (*kie*) was made from *gafigafi* leaves which had been boiled and bleached in the sun. The *gafigafi* tree is now extinct in Tonga, and has been replaced by the *fa* tree. 292 585

For dances and native festivals, a dress was made by sewing together the leaves of the *kulutumu* tree and the *limu fonua*, the latter a kind of creeping moss. Both these plants are now rare in Tongatabu, but are found in abundance on the island of Eua. 292 294

NAMING THE CAPITAL OF TONGA

The capital of Tonga was known originally as Kolofoou, later changed to Nukualofa by the wish of King George Tubou I and his high chiefs. The name was probably taken from that of a rock which stands on the shore at Nukunuku, directly opposite the island of Feleave. The correct name of the rock is said to be Nuualofa, (The Land of Love). It is thought that Captain Cook used this idea in naming the whole group "The Friendly Islands," or "The Islands of Love" (Otu Aga Ofa). 103

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY

(A NATIVE ACCOUNT)

A man appointed to the rank of Muliki Haamea lived on a property at Mua, just by the property Tatakamotoga and Tugis property, Vatulova. As this chief Muliki Haamea was being escorted to Hihifo to be declared Tui Haamea, he was waylaid and murdered by the chiefs of the Hihifo district, on the beach road just opposite the village of Nukunuku, and his body was taken and left on the big rock called Nukualofa. His murderers then went to Hihifo and a man named Togalava heard of what had taken place; he was living at a village called Haateiho and he begged another young man to go with him to see if there was any truth in this story that he had just heard 173 425

wards programme planning related to village needs of each age group as well as simple methods of club organisation. Group discussion on the problems of village life and the opportunities for their solution through *Langa Fonua* produced the request that courses of instruction be held for sectional leaders from the different districts in subjects related to homecraft and health, particularly sewing and cooking, so that each village had its own trained local instructor who could take her part in enriching the programme of the branch meeting.

621 873 575 462 177

The afternoon classes consisted of sewing (patchwork and patterns) and cooking, including a brief introduction to food values and the simple home cooking of basic foods as well as invalid and weaning diets. It is for concentrated courses on these subjects that the request came from the delegates and was forwarded to the Central Committee. Lively songs opened and riotous games closed the daily sessions.

873 575 462 [261] [294] [177] [533] [524]

The leaders went away with a few new ideas for both the educational and recreational side of their village programme, but primarily with some realisation of what might be achieved in community education through *Langa Fonua*, especially if there were sufficient trained voluntary project leaders.

[177]

Variety Of Visual Aids

Visual aids on such topics as The Village Survey, The Woman in the Home, Building a Programme, Dangers

[P. 27-C] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28-B]

98: Rowlands U-3 (no date) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

SATURDAY, November 12, was an important day for the members of the Tongan Women's Association, "KO E LANGA FONUA 'A E FEFINE TONGA", for it was the day of their Annual Show. Anxious glances had been cast at the sky, for the Show was to be held in the open air and the weather for some days had been uncertain. However, although the day was overcast, no rain fell and all was well.

Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, G.C.V.O., G.B.E., who is President of the Association and who has not missed a Show since the first one was held seven years ago, inspected the exhibits. She congratulated the women on the steady improvement in the quality of the work which had been shown throughout the years.

The Tongan handwork included mats, trays, baskets of various shapes, dress materials printed with island dyes, Tongan curtains and cushions and articles made from shells. A new section this year was that for baby baskets. Other items were soap, starch, buttons and ornaments made from Tongan materials.

The sewing section had men's coats and shirts, children's clothing, embroidered dresses, knitted articles, patchwork quilts and fancy work of various kinds. The cookery section included cakes, scones, bread, jams and jellies, cordials, puddings and various Tongan delicacies.

Evidence of the various interests which had been encouraged among the

[P.34-C]

/30 cont./

181
177
153

ishingly large number of practical Tongans; for example, on Nomuka there was a Tongan living in the bush on his plantation who was incapable of climbing a coconut palm, while another native of this island, in using an outrigger, was simply unable to keep on a straight course.

in handling gasoline lamps, sewing machines, (59)

[294]

59. In November 1951 a Tongan woman using a hand sewing machine copied a German style shirt belonging to the author to fit her husband, after she had briefly seen it while laundering it.

bicycles and trucks, they have not only great independence in applying European building methods (60)

[346]
[252]

60. For example, in 1946, the finished Catholic church in Fungamisi (Vava'u) of concrete construction with a steeple 16 meters high was designed and built solely by Tongans; in Pangai/Lifuka in 1950 a Tongan built a well functioning baker's oven under primitive conditions, after he had seen one like it in Nuku'alofa.

usually without systematic learning (often just by watching), but they also carry on with church work, the school system and public health service on most islands, independently, without direct European help, and a number of Tongans even founded two Tongan Wesleyan churches in order to be free of dependence on Europeans in this sphere. (61)

61. See chapter "Religion" p. 369 f.

181
177

However, his considerable intelligence does not help the Tongan toward a proper feeling for, or an actual understanding of, the European world. The Archipelago is isolated and too distant from the large countries of the world, and the European influences that reach the small islands are essentially only of ecclesiastical and material

/49 cont./

291
554

118. The vala reached to the ankles in the case of persons of higher rank; it was secured with a tapa or fiber belt and the upper part fell in folds over this belt, so that in cold or damp weather it could be slung over the shoulders. Cook quotes the average size of the vala as being "six feet wide and at least eight and a half feet long" (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) whereas Mariner says: "about eight feet by five or six"/cited in English/. (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 346).

Along with this garment, or instead of it, mats of various quality and size (119)

119. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 327; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative.../cited in English/. loc, cit. I. p. 94.

were worn, depending on the rank of the persons in question.

291
177
[565]
[184]

Today most men, commoners as well as nobles, wear a vala of European material (in all kinds of colors and patterns, but preferably black for work, and white for Sundays, festivals, etc.), which is approximately the size of the old Tongan vala made of tapa; it is simply wrappped around the waist and is held in place by itself or by means of a belt of leather or synthetic material. Underneath this vala the men often do wear European shorts. On the upper part of the body, which in former times was almost always naked among all classes, they wear a shirt of European cut (a sport shirt, more often with long sleeves rather than with short ones), sometimes also merely a jersey. (120)

120. The vala encircles the shirt below the hips.

291
294
177

Shirts are bought readymade in various colors, or else women buy only the material and sew them themselves on small hand sewing machines common in Tonga, or even on the console type Singer machines, (121)

/53 cont./

291 177 The Tongan women who once wrapped their tapa vala around their waists directly below the breasts and let it hang down to their ankles, (132)

[565] [184] 132. Apparently nobles as well as commoners; the former probably with a tapa piece of larger dimensions.

and in addition wore a narrow mat around their waists, (133)

133. G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 326/327; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 347.

have, in the course of missionization, become accustomed to clothing [178] the upper part of their bodies. However, the voluminous, sacklike mission garments still customary in 1910, often with lace trimmings at neck and sleeves, and with a vala cloth that was slung over or under this and reached almost to the ground, have today changed to the extent that they are shorter and more fitted. Most Tongan women have already become accustomed to European underwear (including brassieres). Mail- [294] order catalogs from firms in Australia or New Zealand, magazines, newspapers, films and the few white women themselves--besides the shops in the seaports--give the female natives of the entire Archipelago enough incentive always to sew their own "modern" creations. Some young Tongan women no longer wear the vala, /54/ justifying this, not always honestly, by saying that it is "too warm" for them; they prefer clothes that in shape, length and decollete are very close to European models. As in hair styles, feminine vanity and the imitative impulse quickly forget the old and the traditional. Yet the vala (134)

291 177 178 134. Either underneath of on top of the dress, as preferred.

is still part of the dress of the majority of Tongan women (that is, all older women and the majority of younger ones). (135)

135. On a workday, for example, in 'Uiha/'Uiha (a typical village of the Ha'apai group), of the 63 women counted, 54 of them (30

/54 cont./

older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a vala, whereas nine (one older and eight younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of Fungamisi, which borders on the urban seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan women (eleven older and nine younger ones) with the vala and five (two older and three younger ones) without it.

In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports; and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a ta'o-vala (like the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by the lighter ta'o-vala kie-kie (136)

136. The ta'o-vala kie-kie is a narrow belt plaited of strips of pandanus leaves (lou tofua-like) with a black design, and with pendant strips plaited in the same way. It was "invented" some years ago as the colleges and soon became popular with women, and sometimes also men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the mana fau,(137)

/54 cont./

292 [824] [294]

137. This is plaited from bast of the Hibiscus tiliaceus, has long, pendant bast fibers and is entirely in natural color. See pp. 321/324 for method of production.

as well as the much-worn kie-kie lou fau. (138)

[824] [294]

138. A belt likewise plaited on Hibiscus tiliaceus bast, with long pendant bast fibers, but more artistic and dyed with European colors (for instance, crimson, purple, blue, pink, green, vermilion); also a variation called kie-kie Lopa decorated with red tree seeds (Adenathera pavonina). See p. 323-324 for method of production.

291 Tongan women still commonly go barefoot. Some wear sandals or white tennis shoes, more in the seaports, naturally, than on the small [177] islands. A few also struggle with European /55/ women's shoes. --Turbans made of undyed tapa (feta'aki) sometimes temporarily wound /around the head/ as a protection against the sun are reminiscent of similar head coverings of times past. (139)

139. Cf. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

292 177 297 [824] [294] Hats (tata lou 'akau) (140)

140. Cf. pp. 320-323.

plaited of leaf strips of pandanus (lou tofua and lou kie), which older women only wear for church and younger women and girls also on other festive occasions or merely as a sun shield on Sundays, go back to mission influence. (141)

141. The "sun hats" mentioned by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 280) were very probably different.

[994] They were introduced at that time by missionaries for women and girls who had made a confession, as a sign of their membership in the congregation.

294 296 178 Among the new tasks of sewing, washing and mending, (142)

294
296
198

/55 cont./

142. The former tapa clothing simply wore out and was replaced by new clothing.

the Tongan women have become most adept at sewing. In tailoring and sewing (especially with the help of hand sewing machines) they
296 achieve astonishing skill. In the task of laundering, the Polynesian feeling for cleanliness can fully unfold; often vala, shirts and dresses that have been worn only once disappear in the zinc tubs where, amidst a great expenditure of curd soap, without previous soaking, often only in lukewarm water, they are scrubbed clean on glass and zinc washboards, an abuse which most clothing can withstand for only a limited time. Most Tongan women seem to be on a war path with mending; for all too often the progressive deterioration of their albeit always clean clothing goes on unchecked, and the ragged thing is (tardily) replaced by something new--as was formerly the case with
(184) tapa. However, as has been mentioned, there is a difference to be noted between the small islands and the seaports; the clothing in the latter seems better cared for.

291
199

The European-Christian influence on children's clothing has been less persistent. Referring to ancient Tongans, Mariner said that children up to about two years were unclothed in the house, (143)

(114)

143. J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 347; it is not clear whether this note applied only to the families of chiefs or to commoners as well.

and Dumont d'Urville reported that boys went about naked for a long time, though little girls were apt to be clothed, (144)

144. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78.

whereas in 1857 the Mission announced that "the youngest Christian child...(wore) white tapa around its hips." (145)

145. Geschichte der christlichen Missionen... /History of Christian Missions/ loc. cit. p. 41.